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AS TO AN ASSOCIATION OF NATIONS

THE CONFERENCE on the Limitation of Armament, now in session at Washington, is itself an association of nations. The four-power treaty proposed December 10, if ratified, will set up an association of nations for a period of at least ten years. The Washington Conference has already proved its worth. It has already brought about an agreement to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. It has opened the way for the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government. The powers concerned have agreed to use their influence for the purpose of effectively establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China; and they have agreed to refrain from taking advantage of the present conditions in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of certain States. It is hardly necessary to point out the great importance of these facts. They constitute an international achievement. They are the product of the Conference, of the association of nations now in meeting assembled. Too, we have the four-power treaty.

We have no doubt the Conference will achieve other and important results, for undoubtedly it will bring about a limitation of naval armament. Puzzling questions relating to railways, preferential rates, existing commitments in the Far East, and the like, are being carefully studied. Such major problems as the fate of Shantung are also up for examination. There remain Siberia, the matter of communications, the island of Yap and other mandated islands, some of which difficulties will be satisfactorily settled and all of which will come nearer solution.

The methods employed are the methods acceptable to all nations. Rules, principles, regulations, and laws are recommended to the interested nations for approval and ratification. If they are approved and ratified by the respective governments, they become laws for the nations that ratify. That is the only way of any hopeful association of nations.

Thus it was to be expected that President Harding should let it be known that it is his earnest hope to make the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments the beginning of a real Association of Nations calculated to insure world peace by the means of other and frequent conferences. One success deserves another. What has been found to be useful recommends itself to men interested in the future. Naturally the delegates to the present Conference are sympathetic toward other and recur-

ring conferences. Problems are destined always to arise between nations; therefore the necessity for international conferences will always be present. If one conference can succeed in solving certain questions relating to the Pacific, other and similar conferences can similarly settle larger problems concerning the world—say, in central Europe, in Russia, in Asia Minor, and elsewhere.

SOVIETIZING THE UNITED STATES

THERE IS a soviet propaganda aimed at the United States. It would appear that its headquarters is Mexico City, Mexico. In any event, we are in receipt of literature from that quarter appearing under the caption, "The Billiken," setting forth the reasons why we want soviets. The arguments behind this propaganda are interesting. We are told that the capitalist class is kept in the safe enjoyment of its wealth and privileges not by bayonets—such a method would be so crude as to be self-defeating. The method is far more subtle. It is a spiritual and mental control which these malefactors exercise over the minds of the "workers." This esoteric thing goes on from the cradle to the grave. It permeates the press, the pulpit, the cinema, the platform. The "worker" just naturally assimilates this poison which it suits the "masters" to administer. "The worker's ideas are molded for him in his master's interests by the intellectual prostitutes of journalism, science, art, and literature."

Willing and servile wage slaves are turned out by the schools and churches, with their codes of morals calculated to assist "in the maintenance of capitalism, with all its horrors." Thrift, frugality, industry, and abstinence are but a part of the subtle program to make the laborer feel that he is virtuous and thrifty when he views his master's wife with her \$1,500 set of furs. "Go right down the list of the servile virtues, reverence, obedience—they all serve the same purpose: doping the wage slave." The fear of hell and the prospects of heaven are but a part of the same diabolical plan.

"Every instinct of self-preservation, of love of family, of class solidarity, demands the repudiation of this base, servile, and ridiculous code." So the laboring man must "teach and practice, in the interests of his class, not humility, but defiance; not contentment, but discontent; not patience, but a burning impatience with wrong and injustice. . . . The workers will want the old earth and its riches for themselves."

Thus, what is needed is a Council of Workers' Delegates—in short, a soviet. Parliaments represent the interests of the idle rich. They are breaking down. The only hope is that the workers shall rule. The terrifying fact is pointed out that a member of parliament is elected

for many years, and, once elected, the electors have no control over him. Since the parliamentary machine is breaking down, the world is faced with chaos unless the "workers" have a new system to replace it. That system is the soviet system, the Council of Workers' Delegates. That is the argument.

One naturally wonders what the difference is between a "capitalist" and a "worker." One also naturally wonders what kind of a world this would be if it were run by people who, as "The Billiken" says, submit so supinely to the "spiritual and mental control" which the "malefactors" so successfully exercise. The "worker" who so naturally assimilates the poison gently administered by the "masters," if such "workers" there be, does not somehow command our enthusiastic hope in a society governed by him. If our journalism, science, art, and literature be "prostitutes," what of him? If, in addition to this servility, he be thriftless, wanting in frugality, lacking in industry, and wholly intemperate, irreverent, disobedient, fearing not hell, we are afraid he would have trouble getting himself elected to office. Defiance and discontent could not possibly win him enough votes to get into any office save, perhaps, that of an inmate in the county jail. It does not appear that such "workers" are liable to get what they want, namely, "the old earth and its riches for themselves." Then, too, one naturally wonders where the money comes from for the distribution of "The Billiken." There seems to be a capitalistic gentleman of color in the Soviet woodpile.

NEWS OF PATRICK HENRY

NEW EVIDENCE has just been brought to public attention which tends to show that Patrick Henry did not rise "to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the speaker an eye of the most determined fire," thunder, "And George the Third may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it," but something quite the contrary. Indeed, he is now pictured as asking pardon on that occasion for mentioning Tarquin, Cæsar, and Charles the First in connection with George III. The document just brought to light, which reveals Henry as most loyal to His Majesty King George III, has all the appearance of a discovery of real importance. It will be something of a sad blow for the many who have been brought up under the glow of that alleged defiance, but the new evidence is very convincing. It now looks as if we must expunge that oft-quoted speech from our history and eliminate at least the climax of it from our erstwhile patriotic prepossessions.

The document to which we refer, called "*Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765*," was discovered by the Carnegie Institution among the archives of the *Service Hydrographique de la Marine*, Paris, and has

just appeared in the *American Historical Review*, for July and October, 1921. The manuscript consists of 79 pages, but the most interesting section is the writer's eye-witness account of Patrick Henry's speech in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, May 30, 1765. In the language of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution, "It is a remarkable chance that further information respecting that debate should come to light, after this distance of time, from a source so unexpected."

The sources of our information hitherto relative to this familiar speech are carefully set forth by Dr. Jameson in his introduction to the document. It appears that the first published account of the alleged speech was a private letter published in part in England and later in New York. Not until 1788 did any statement of the occurrence appear in a book. In 1805 John Burk quotes Mr. Henry's speech substantially as we are familiar with it, but there are evidences that Mr. Burk is not a trustworthy authority. The authority which the historians have accepted is William Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry."

In that text the author says:

"It was in the midst of this magnificent debate, while he was descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious act, that he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder and with the look of a god, 'Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third'—('Treason!' cried the Speaker; 'Treason! Treason!' echoed from every part of the House. It was one of those trying moments which is decisive of character. Henry faltered not an instant; but, rising to a loftier attitude and fixing on the Speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis)—'*may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it.*'"

Wirt was not a witness of the event. Indeed, in a foot-note he says:

"I had frequently heard the above anecdote of the cry of treason, but with such variations of the concluding words that I began to doubt whether the whole might not be fiction. With a view to ascertain the truth, therefore, I submitted it to Mr. Jefferson, as it had been given to me by Judge Tyler, and this is his answer: 'I well remember the cry of treason, the pause of Mr. Henry at the name of George III, and the presence of mind with which he closed his sentence and baffled the charge vociferated.' The incident, therefore, becomes authentic history."

The interest in this foot-note lies in the fact that both John Tyler the elder, then age eighteen, and Thomas Jefferson, age twenty-three, heard the speech. But later, in writing his biography, Jefferson refers to Wirt for the details of the matter. Dr. Jameson adds, "Apparently the account of these two eye-witnesses is confirmed in a manuscript letter to Wirt, by Paul Carrington, who also was an eye-witness, indeed a member of the House."